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FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION USICA WASHDC INFO SECSTATE
FROM NEW DELHI OCT 16:

QUOTE UNCLAS NEW DELHI 21864

FOR NEA: ANDERSON
STATE NEA/PAB HECK

E.O. 12065: N/A
SUBJECT: KULIP NAYAR ARTICLE SERIES ON AFGHANISTAN

REF: USICA 51688

COMPLETE TEXT OF FIRST ARTICLE IN A SERIES OF SIX IN THE
INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 6 HEADLINES "AFGHAN REBELS MORE
DETERMINED AND BOLD":

THE CITY IS UNEASY BUT QUIET. DURING THE SIX DAYS I HAVE STAYED HERE, I HAVE HEARD THE SPUTTERING OF MACHINE-GUNS AND THE SCURRYING OF HEAVY VEHICLES EVERY NIGHT. DURING DAY TIME THE BUSINESS IS AS USUAL.

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FOUR DAYS AGO THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR AND HIS WIFE, LIVING NOT FAR FROM THE HEART OF THE CITY, WERE CAUGHT IN THE CROSS-FIRE BETWEEN THE REBELS AND THE SOLDIERS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT. A FEW DAYS EARLIER, LOGUR IN THE OTHER DAY WHEN A TOP KGB OFFICER WAS DRAGGED FROM HIS CAR IN A CROWDED LOCALITY AND KILLED, THE REBELS WERE ABLE TO ESCAPE AND HAVE NOT BEEN TRACED TILL TODAY. BEFORE THE OLYMPICS, THEY TRIED TO DESTROY THE CITY TV

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR.

REVIEWED by BLB DATE 8/21/85

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TOWER. THEY FAILED IN THEIR ATTEMPT AND LOST TWO OF THEIR MEN BUT THE REST OF THEM MANAGED TO SLIP AWAY. EVEN THOUGH THE TV TOWER STANDS AT A SECLUDED PLACE AND ANY INTRUDER IN THE AREA CAN BE SPOTTED IMMEDIATELY.

HOWEVER, THERE ARE FEWER RUSSIAN SOLDIERS -- AND TANKS -- IN THE STREETS THAN I SAW LAST TIME. MOST GOVERNMENT OFFICES, HOTELS AND BRIDGES ARE PROTECTED BY THE AFGHANS. THEY GENERALLY CARRY RIFLES. IT IS SAID THAT THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN VERY LITTLE AMMUNITION BECAUSE THE INSTANCES OF THEIR GOING TO OTHER SIDE HAVE INCREASED LATELY.

BUT KEY PLACES, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT'S PALACE AND TV AND RADIO STATIONS HAVE THE SOVIETS AS THEIR GUARDS. THEY CONTINUE TO ADOPT A LOW PROFILE AND SELDOM COME OUT IN THE OPEN AT DAY TIME. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE POSITIONED THEMSELVES AT VARIOUS POINTS IN THE CITY FROM WHERE THEY CAN ROLL IN NO TIME. I COUNTED SEVEN TANKS IN A COMPOUND BEHIND A NON-DESCRIPT HOUSE. AT A TALL BUILDING NEAR PUSHTOONISTAN CROSSING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TOWN, THE RUSSIANS, ARMED WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, WATCH THE TRAFFIC DOWN BELOW CONSTANTLY.

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BALAHISAR, A FORTRESS OVERLOOKING THE CITY THAT THE BRITISH ALWAYS WANTED TO CONTROL, IS UNDER THE RUSSIANS. THEY CAN BE SEEN AT THE TOP WITH HUGE GUNS FROM THE SUNKEN ROAD BELOW. AIRPORT IS ANOTHER PLACE WHERE THE RUSSIANS ARE PRESENT IN A SUFFICIENTLY LARGE NUMBER. A TENTED CULONY HAS COME UP IN THE VICINITY AND MANY TIN HUTS ARE UNDER CONSTRUCTION. I SAW MANY MIGS, HELICOPTER GUN-SHIPS AND BULKY TRANSPORT PLANES PARKED ON EITHER SIDE OF THE RUNWAY WHICH IS BEING LENGTHENED AND BROADENED.

CURFEW IS FROM 11 P.M. BUT SOVIET TANKS BEGIN TO RUMBLE INTO THE STREETS FROM EIGHT ITSELF. MOST PEOPLE ARE INDOORS BY SEVEN. KABUL USED TO BE A GAY, GREGARIOUS CITY, WITH THE NOISE OF RECORDED MUSIC AND SMELL OF KABAB LINGERING WELL AFTER MIDNIGHT. NOW IT DIES SOON AFTER THE SUN IS DOWN.

EVEN OTHERWISE THE AFGHANS HAVE BECOME INTROVERTS AND QUIET. THEIR FACES REFLECT SADNESS AND THEY LOOK LIKE THE PEOPLE WHO ARE BURDENED WITH ALL THE WORRIES IN THE WORLD. THEY WERE SULLEN WHEN I WAS HERE LAST, NOW THEY ARE RESENTFUL. PROUD AS THE NATION IS, IT APPEARS TO FEEL THE HUMILIATION OF NOT BEING ITS OWN MASTER.

BAZARS ARE CROWDED. THE WAYSIDE MARKETS, A FAMILIAR SIGHT IN KABUL, ARE FULL OF RUBBER SHOES AND LONG COATS WHICH MOSCOW HAS SUPPLIED ALMOST FREE. AT ONE TIME THERE WAS COMPUNCTION TO BUY THEM BUT IT HAS WORN OUT. BIG SHOPS HAVE VERY FEW CUSTOMERS. I HAVE SEEN INSIDE SOME RUSSIAN WOMEN, THE WIVES OF SOVIET ADVISERS, AT TIMES WITHOUT ANY ESCORT. (FOR RUSSIAN SOLDIERS, KABUL IS A NON-FAMILY STATION).

IT IS FRUIT SEASON AND YOU CAN SEE MELONS, GRAPES
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AND APPLES JOSTLING WITH DISCARDED CLOTHES, SECOND-HAND UTENSILS AND GLOSSY PICTURES OF HEMAMALINI AND AMITABH. BEGGARS ARE MORE THAN BEFORE BUT SOMEWHAT WITHDRAWN AND QUIETER IN THEIR APPEAL IN THE NAME OF ALLAH.

THERE IS A PROLIFERATION OF TAXIS, WITH THE NAME-PLATES OF EVEN HERAT AND KANDHAR, 350 MILES AWAY. DUE TO LACK OF BUSINESS IN THEIR AREAS, THEY HAVE FLOCKED TO KABUL. PRIVATE CARS ARE FEWER, THE POSH ONES STILL FEWER. MOST OF THE ELITE HAS LEFT THE CITY AND SOME OF THE TEACHERS AND DOCTORS I HAVE TALKED TO PROPOSE TO LEAVE SOON. THEY SEE NO FUTURE. TO DISCOURAGE MIGRATION THE GOVERNMENT HAS IMPOSED A SECURITY OF 50,000 AFGHANS (RS. 10,000) FOR EVERY PASSPORT. THERE IS ALSO A FEE OF 20,000 AFGHANS (RS. 4,000) AND IT IS AN OPEN SECRET THAT A PASSPORT APPLICANT PAYS 25,000 AFGHANS IN BLACKMARKET. SUBURBS, SHOOK FROM THE EXPLOSION OF AN AMMUNITION DEPOT THAT THE RUSSIAN ARMY PROTECTED WITH TANKS.

THE REBEL ACTIVITY INSIDE THE CITY HAS INCREASED SINCE I WAS HERE EIGHT MONTHS AGO. IT IS STILL LIMITED TO A FEW EXCHANGES HERE AND THERE AT NIGHT BUT THE REBELS ARE BOLDER AND MORE DETERMINED THAN BEFORE. IT APPEARS THAT THEY HAVE THEIR MEN IN THE POLICE AND THE ARMY WHO NOT ONLY ACT AS THEIR INFORMERS BUT ALSO GIVE THEM SHELTER. THERE ARE NEARLY 20,000 REBELS IN THE CITY WHICH HAS NOW A POPULATION OF ONE MILLION DUE TO INFLUX FROM OTHER AREAS.

TWO GROUPS OF REBELS HAVE MET ME AT DIFFERENT PLACES. ONCE THEY COME TO KNOW THAT A FOREIGN JOURNALIST IN
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TOWN, THEY SEEK HIM OUT AND ALSO VOLUNTEER TO TAKE HIM INTO THE INTERIOR. MY RUDIMENTARY KNOWLEDGE OF RUSSIAN

HAS STOOD ME IN GOOD STEAD.

"WE CAN DISRUPT LIFE IN KABUL IN NO TIME BUT IT IS NO USE DOING SO WHEN WE CANNOT HOLD THE CITY", THE REBELS TOLD ME. ACCORDING TO THEM, THERE ARE TWO DIVISIONS OF RUSSIAN SOLDIERS (20,000) IN THE CITY AND ITS VICINITY. "PRACTICALLY EVERY-ONE IN KABUL, FOR THAT MATTER, IN AFGHANISTAN, IS A MUJAHID", THEY SAID. "THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT SOME ARE WITH GUNS, AND SOME WITHOUT."

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES ARE FUNCTIONING BUT WITH LESSER ATTENDANCE. A FEW DAYS AGO THERE WAS A SECRET CIRCULAR TO THE PRINCIPALS ABOUT THE POSTPONEMENT OF EXAMINATIONS TO ENABLE THE BOYS TO JOIN THE MILITARY. SINCE NOTHING REMAINS SECRET WITH AN AFGHAN, THE CIRCULAR WAS ALL OVER TOWN. SOME STUDENTS STAGED A DEMONSTRATION, SIXTYFIVE OF THEM WERE ARRESTED BUT RELEASED AFTER A FEW DAYS. UNLIKE THE PAST REGIMES, THE PRESENT ONE DOES NOT DETAIN PEOPLE UNNECESSARILY.

HOWEVER, FORCED ENLISTMENT CONTINUES. TWO DAYS AGO I MET A PERSON FROM A NEARBY VILLAGE. HE SAID THAT THE NIGHT BEFORE, SOME AFGHAN AND RUSSIAN SOLDIERS HAD VISITED HIS HOUSE AND HAD INSISTED ON HIS SEEING HIS CHILDREN WHO HAD GONE TO SLEEP. DESPITE HIS PROTESTS, THE CHILDREN WERE WOKEN UP. "IS THERE ANYONE ABOVE 14 YEARS?" THE SOLDIERS ASKED. THEY LEFT THE HOUSE ONLY WHEN THEY FOUND THAT NO CHILD WAS ABOVE 10.

SECOND ARTICLE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 7 HEADLINED: "AFGHANISTAN REBELS FORM RING AROUND KABUL":

THE REBELS HAVE A RING ROUND THE CITY. EVEN THE
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GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WARN YOU AGAINST GOING BEYOND
10 KILOMETERS WITHOUT AN ARMED ESCORT.

AN INDIAN RESIDING IN KABUL TOOK ME IN HIS MERCEDES TO PEGHMAN, A SCENIC PICNIC SPOT AT A DISTANCE OF 15 KMS. THE PLACE, EVEN ON FRIDAY, A HOLIDAY IN AFGHANISTAN, WAS DESERTED. ON OUR RETURN AT FOUR IN THE AFTERNOON, SOMEONE FIRED AT OUR CAR. NONE OF THE THREE OCCUPANTS WAS HURT. BUT THE WINDSCREEN WAS COMPLETELY SHATTERED.

THE EXPLANATION WE GOT FROM RELIABLE SOURCES IN THE CITY WAS THAT THE CAR, BEING A MERCEDES, WAS MISTAKEN FOR AN OFFICIAL CAR. SINCE ALL MERCEDES BELONGING TO AFGHANS HAD BEEN REQUISITIONED AND GIVEN TO MINISTERS OR PARTY LEADERS, THE GENERAL BELIEF WAS THAT THOSE TRAVELLING IN THEM WERE TOP ECHELONS OF THE RULING GROUP.

ON THE ROAD BETWEEN KABUL AND JALALABAD, AS MANY 21 TRUCKS, CARRYING DRY FRUIT AND OTHER GOODS, WERE DESTROYED A FORTNIGHT AGO. SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN HARDLY ANY TRAFFIC ON THAT ROAD. THE FEW TRUCKS WHICH PLY PAY TOLL TAX TO THE REBELS FOR SAFE CONDUCT. "THIS WORKS OUT TO BE CHEAPER," A TRADER WHOSE TRUCK WAS BURNT TOLD ME. ANOTHER WHO COULD HAVE RETRIEVED HIS GOODS, WHICH WERE LOOTED, DID NOT DO SO LEST THE GOVERNMENT ASK HIM HOW HE'D DONE IT.

WHEN SOVIET TRUCKS GO OUT OF KABUL WITH SUPPLIERS OR MAIL, THEY ARE ESCORTED BY A SMALL CONTINGENT WHICH INCLUDES 12 TO 15 TANKS. EVEN NON-RUSSIAN CONVOYS HAVE SIX TO EIGHT TANKS TO PROTECT THEM.

WHAT HAPPENED ON SEPTEMBER 23 IN DAYLIGHT ALSO INDICATES UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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THE EXTENT OF THE REBELS' HOLD AROUND KABUL. SHAKADRA IS A LOCALITY IN THE SUBURBS. POSTERS, CARRYING THE PICTURE OF MR. GULBUDDIN HIMAMATYAR, CHIEF OF HEZBE ISLAMI, THE MOST INFLUENTIAL REBEL GROUP, WERE PASTED ON THE WALLS WITH A WARNING THAT NO ONE SHOULD PULL THEM DOWN. A MEMBER OF THE RULING COMMUNIST FACTION, PARCHAM, DID SO. HE WAS KILLED THERE AND THEN. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE LARGE NUMBERS OF THE FOLLOWERS OF THE OTHER COMMUNIST FACTION, KHALQ, THEY DID NOT COME TO THE HELP OF THE PARCHAM MEMBER.

THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE KHALQ AND THE PARCHAM MEMBERS IS IN THE OPEN NOW. SINCE THE PARCHAMIS ARE ESSENTIALLY IN THE CITIES, THE KHALQIS, WHO ARE COMPARATIVELY STRONG IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE, ARE KILLING THEM WHENEVER THEY CAN. IN DASHIR, GERCHI VILLAGE WHICH IS 12 KILEMETERS FROM KABUL, AS MANY AS 14 PARCHAMIS WERE KILLED RECENTLY. THE GOVERNMENT HAS EVACUATED THE REST OF THE CITY.

IT IS SAID THAT MR. ASAD ULLAH SARWARI, TILL RECENTLY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN MR. BABRAK KARMA'S CABINET, WAS POSTED AS AMBASSADOR TO OUTER MANGOLIA BECAUSE THE CRITICISED THE PARCHAM OPENLY FOR HAVING TOO CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER, A PARCHAM LEADER EXPLAINED TO ME THAT SINCE MR. SARWARI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE OF PARCHAMIS DURING THE REGIMES OF TARAKI AND AMIN, FROM APRIL 1978 TO DECEMBER 1979, "WE DEMANDED HE MUST BE SENT OUT OF GOVERNMENT."

THE REBELS DO NOT HOWEVER, MAKE MUCH DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PARCHAMIS AND THE KHALQIS. THEY CONSIDER BOTH OF THEM "GODLESS COMMUNISTS," EVEN THOUGH THE KHALQIS AT TIMES HAVE HELPED SOME OF THE REBELS TO ESCAPE WHEN ARRESTED.

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NO DOUBT THE COMMUNISTS ARE HATED. BUT THERE IS A NOTICEABLE ESTRANGEMENT TOWARDS THE INDIANS. WHEN I WAS IN KABUL DURING THE DAQUD PERIOD IN 1974, THE AFGHANS WELCOMED ME WHEREVER I WENT. EVEN SHOPKEEPERS WOULD GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO SAY THAT THE INDIANS WERE THEIR BEST FRIENDS. THIS TIME MANY SHOPKEEPERS SAID 'BAYRO' (GO AWAY) WHEN I APPROACHED THEM.

THE AFGHANS BELIEVE THAT INDIA DID NOT STAND BY THEM DURING THEIR HOUR OF CRISIS. THEY APPEAR TO APPRECIATE THE PAKISTANIS, EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE WITH THEM A LONG STANDING DISPUTE OVER THE PUSHTU-SPEAKING AREAS THAT ISLAMABAD CONTROLS. "WE ALWAYS SIDED WITH YOU," MANY AFGHANS SAID. "NOW IN THE HOUR OF OUR NEED, YOU HAVE SIDED WITH THE SHOURVIS (RUSSIANS)".

THIRD ARTICLE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 8 HEADLINED: "NATIONALISM GALVANISES AFGHANS":

IF THERE WERE A REFERENDUM IN AFGHANISTAN TODAY, NINETYNINE PERCENT OF ITS PEOPLE WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE SOVIET PRESENCE. AND IF BY A MIRACLE THE RUSSIAN FORCES WERE TO QUIT THE COUNTRY, THE GOVERNMENT HEADED BY MR. SABIRAK KARMAL WOULD FALL IN NO TIME AND ITS MEMBERS WOULD BE LYNCHED IN KABUL'S STREETS. HATRED OF THE SOVIETS AND THE PRESENT RULERS OF AFGHANISTAN HAS DEEPENED AND SPREAD ALL OVER SINCE I WAS IN KABUL IN JANUARY WITHIN ONE MONTH OF THE SOVIET INTERVENTION. ONE WOULD HAVE TO SEARCH HARD TO FIND ANYONE HAVING ANYTHING GOOD TO SAY OF THE RUSSIANS, CONSIDERED AN OCCUPATION FORCE, AND THOSE THEY ARE KEEPING IN POWER.

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FROM DECEMBER 26, 1979, THE DAY WHEN THE RUSSIANS MARCHED INTO AFGHANISTAN, HATRED FOR THEM AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RISING. BEFORE THAT DAY THERE WAS A STRONG SENTIMENT AGAINST THE PRO COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF TARAKI (APRIL 1978-SEPTEMBER 1979) AND OF AMIN (SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1979). THE MULLAHS AND MALIKS HAD BEEN ABLE TO CREATE A CLIMATE THAT MADE MANY MEN IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF AFGHANISTAN TAKE UP ARMS TO DEFEND ISLAM AGAINST THE ONSLAUGHT OF "GODLESS COMMUNISM".

BUT THERE WERE STILL ENOUGH PEOPLE WHO SHOWED TRADITIONAL LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE ARMY, A KEY

FACTOR IN THE COUNTRY WAS MORE OR LESS ON ITS SIDE.

THE INTELLIGENTSIA WAS GENERALLY AGAINST THE INSURGENCY IN THE NAME OF RELIGION. THE ADMINISTRATION EVEN THOUGH RUN DOWN, MADE ITS PRESENCE FELT IN MOST OF THE 186 DISTRICTS. ONE COULD TRAVEL FROM KABUL TO HERAT, KABUL TO JALALABAD WITHOUT ANY RISK.

THE SOVIET INTERVENTION CHANGED THE PICTURE. IT GAVE THOSE RANGED AGAINST COMMUNISM THE ADDITIONAL WEAPON OF NATIONALISM WHICH IS PROVING MORE POTENT THAN RELIGION.

THE ONE-LAKH AFGHAN ARMY HAS DWINDLED TO ONE-THIRD OF ITS SIZE; THE AIR FORCE TO HALF. MOST OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY OR HAVE GONE OVER TO THE INSURGENTS WHO WITHOUT THEM, WERE A LEADERLESS MASS IN THE CAMPS OR STREETS OF PESHWAR, PINDI OR PAKISTAN'S OTHER CITIES. MOST ROADS ARE CLOSED AND IT IS UNSAFE TO TRAVEL BEYOND 10 KILOMETERES FROM KABUL.

STUDENTS WHO ONCE PROVIDED A STRONG BASE TO THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HAVE BECOME ALIENATED; SO MUCH SO UNCLASSIFIED
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THAT THEY STAGED A DEMONSTRATION ON APRIL 28 WHEN THE EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS WERE INVITED TO KABUL TO WITNESS THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE SAUR REVOLUTION WHICH BROUGHT TARAQI TO POWER. MANY STUDENTS BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS, WERE KILLED BY THE POLICE, LEAVING A TRAIL OF BITTERNESS.

MR. KARMA, WHO WAS ONCE POPULAR AMONG THE PEOPLE HAS LOST HIS CREDIBILITY BECAUSE HE HAS COME TO POWER WITH RUSSIAN HELP. HE IS KNOWN AS SHUJA-UL-MULK WHO WAS INSTALLED BY THE BRITISH AT KABUL IN 1839. IT IS SAID IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES IN KABUL THAT BABRAK IS CAUGHT AND KNOWS NO WAY TO GET OUT OF THE SITUATION HE HAS CREATED FOR HIMSELF.

THE MOST UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT FOR THE SOVIETS HAS BEEN A SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRY. THE RULING PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN (PDPA) IS A DIVIDED HOUSE. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, WITH THE HELP OF MOSCOW, REPORTEDLY BROUGHT TOGETHER THE TWO COMMUNIST FACTIONS. PARHAM AND KHALQ, IN THE FIFTIES. NOW THE LATTER HAS COME OUT OPENLY AGAINST THE SOVIET PRESENCE; IT HAS EVEN ESTABLISHED CONTACTS WITH THE REBELS. SOME KHALQ LEADERS TOLD ME THAT "COMMUNISM DOES NOT MEAN RUSSIAN RULE" AND THAT THEY DETERMINED "TO OUST THE OCCUPATION FORCES." THE KHALQ MEN DO NOT SEEM

TO HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO THE SOVIETS EXERCISING THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE COUNTRY BUT THEY ARE AGAINST THE OCCUPATION.

MOST REBEL GROUPS THINK LIKEWISE. MR. GULBUDDIN HIKMATYAR, CHIEF OF HEZBE ISLAMI, THE MOST INFLUENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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AMONG THE REBELS. WHEN ASKED WHAT HE WOULD DO IF HE CAME TO POWER, SAID THAT HE WOULD ENTER INTO A FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION. SYED AHMED GELANI, CHIEF OF ANOTHER REBEL GROUP, THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR ISLAMIC REVOLUTION SAID IN A BBC BROADCAST THE OTHER DAY THAT THEY ACCEPTED THE FACT OF AFGHANISTAN BEING AN AREA OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

THIS SOVIET "RIGHT" HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED SINCE ANANULLAH'S TIME (1919-29). AFGHAN RULERS, INCLUDING DAUD, HAVE SHAPED THEIR POLICIES TO SUIT SOVIET REQUIREMENTS. MOSCOW DID NOT WAY ANY FOREIGNERS TO OPERATE IN THE NORTHERN PART OF AFGHANISTAN, ADJOINING THE SOVIET UNION, KABUL RESPECTED THIS SENSITIVITY. THE NATURAL GAS FOUND IN AFGHANISTAN WAS SOLD EXCLUSIVELY TO 47 8- - \$ 3.3, .3- 743.3,5 8, 547.3,5 2343 9):-53\$ 8, 5#3 9:835 7.89.. MOSCOW SAW AN ADVANTAGE IN TRAINING MORE AND MORE MILITARY OFFICIALS IN THE SOVIET UNION --SOMETHING WHICH HAS PAID THE COMMUNISTS IN EVERY TAKE-OVER--KABUL DID NOT DEMUR. AND THERE WERE AS MANY AS 5,000 RUSSIAN ADVISERS WORKING IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS WITH KABUL'S PERMISSION BEFORE THE RUSSIAN FORCES MARCHED IN ON DECEMBER 26.

WESTERN POWERS AND OTHERS HAD ALSO ACCEPTED THE FACT OF AFGHANISTAN BEING IN THE AREA OF SOVIET INFLUENCE. EVEN TODAY THE FORMULAS ON THE ANVIL RECOGNIZE THAT A GOVERNMENT IN KABUL SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW.

THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES, WHICH ARE IN THE FOREFRONT OF AFGHANISTAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT, ALSO CONCEDE THIS AND FAVOUR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES ONLY WHEN MOSCOW IS SATISFIED ABOUT THE COMPLEXION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN KABUL.

IF THE SOVIET UNION'S "HOLD" OVER AFGHANISTAN WAS ACCEPTED, WHY DID THE RUSSIAN TROOPS MARCH INTO THE COUNTRY? THIS QUESTION IS BEING DEBATED AS MUCH NOW AS IT WAS ON MY EARLIER VISIT. THERE IS AN IMPRESSION THAT SOMETHING MORE THAN AFGHANISTAN UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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WAS IN VIEW; FOR EXAMPLE, A STRATEGICAL POSITION FROM WHERE IT WOULD BE QUICKER TO OPERATE TO CONTROL THE OIL-BEARING GULF IF NEED BE OR FROM WHERE IRAN WOULD BE EASIER TO DEFEND OR GRAB WHEN PAGE NO. 8

THE OPPORTUNITY AROSE. PRESUMING THAT RUSSIA HAS THESE TWO OBJECTIVES IN VIEW, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD RISK ANNOYING WORLD OPINION, JEOPARDISING DETENTE IN EUROPE, AND FACING HOSTILITY IN AFGHANISTAN FOR A GAIN OF 200 TO 250 MILES. THE SOVIET UNION IS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE OXUS, A DIVIDING LINE WITH AFGHANISTAN. A COUPLE OF HUNDRED MILES DOES NOT GIVE MOSCOW MUCH OF STRATEGICAL ADVANTAGE IN MODERN WARFARE.

THE THEORY OF RUSSIA MOVING SOUTHWARDS, INTO PAKISTAN, IS NOT CONVINCING. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS REPEATED TO GEN. ZIA AMERICA'S 1959 COMMITMENT TO COME TO THE SIDE OF PAKISTAN IF IT WERE EVER ATTACKED. MOSCOW WILL NOT RISK A WAR.

THE FACT IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE A MISTAKE. FIRST IT GOT ITSELF INVOLVED IN A COUP AGAINST DAOUD IN APRIL 1978 WHEN THE COUNTRY WAS NOT READY FOR A COMMUNIST REVOLUTION AND WHEN BOTH PARHAM AND KHALQ DID NOT HAVE MORE THAN 50,000 SUPPORTERS IN A COUNTRY WITH 13 MILLION POPULATION. THEN IT BACKED TARAKI IN PREFERENCE TO BABRAK WHO WAS MORE PRAGMATIC. MORE SERIOUS HAS BEEN MOSCOW'S CALCULATION THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAD CONSOLIDATED THEIR BASE AFTER THE SAUR REVOLUTION. THEY HAVE ONLY FOUGHT AMONG THEMSELVES, LEAVING THE FIELD OPEN FOR THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS.

ON TOP OF THIS, THE SOVIETS DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM THAT ANIMATES THE AFGHANS. THEY WERE NEVER SUBDUED BY THE BRITISH AND FOUGHT THREE WARS IN A SPAN OF 100 YEARS TO UPHOLD THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIA IS NOT EVEN ONE YEAR OLD YET.

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FOURTH ARTICLE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 9 HEADLINED:

"WILL RUSSIANS PULL OUT?":

WORK IS IN PROGRESS TO DOUBLE THE TWO-LANE ROAD BETWEEN KABUL AND THE SOVIET BORDER; THE PORTION UP TO SALANG PASS, NEARLY 90 KILOMETRES, IS NEARING COMPLETION. THE OXUS, A RIVER DIVIDING AFGHANISTAN FROM THE SOVIET UNION, HAS BEEN SPANNED BY TEMPORARY WOODEN BRIDGES WHICH ARE TO BE MADE PERMANENT. A PIPELINE FROM THE SOVIET BORDER HAS REACHED PULL-E-KHUMARI, MORE THAN HALFWAY FROM KABUL, TO CARRY OIL.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE CANTONMENT FACILITIES FOR THE RUSSIAN FORCES ARE BEING ESTABLISHED. PERMANENT STRUCTURES ARE COMING UP IN JALALABAD, BADKHSAN, MISAR-E-SHARIF, HERAT, KANDHAR, KABUL AND PULLAE-KHUMARI TO ACCOMMODATE SOLDIERS. MOSCOW HAD WITHDRAWN IN JUNE SOME SIX THOUSAND MEN, BELONGING TO ANTI-AIRCRAFT, ANTI-TANK AND MISSILE UNITS HAVING LITTLE RELATION TO THE NATURE OF THE FIGHTING IN AFGHANISTAN. BUT

MORE TROOPS HAVE COME IN SINCE AND THE NUMBER TODAY IS A LITTLE MORE THAN 100,000 (SOME EIGHT DIVISIONS), APART FROM 3,500 TANKS.

THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND THE MILITARY ARE BEING REORGANISED. SOVIET ADVISERS HAVE BEEN PLACED AT EVERY LEVEL. SOVIET OFFICIALS OCCUPY SENIOR POSITIONS EXCEPT IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. NO PROPOSAL GOES THROUGH UNTIL THE RUSSIANS HAVE APPROVED IT. THIS PROCEDURE HAS OFTEN CAUSED DELAY AND EVEN CONFUSION. A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TOLD ME THAT IN IMPORTANT CASES THE LAST WORD IS WITH THE ADVISERS.

THE SOVIET UNION IS SCRUTINISING CLOSELY THE 30,000 MEN LEFT IN THE AFGHAN ARMY. SINCE MOST OF THEM BELONG TO THE KHALQ, A COMMUNIST FACTION WHICH HAS BEGUN QUESTIONING THE SOVIET PRESENCE; NEW MEN ARE BEING RECRUITED BUT THEY ARE HARD TO FIND. THE OTHER DAY THE SOVIET LEADERS REPORTEDLY TOLD THE POLITBURO OF UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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THE RULING PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN (PDPA) THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO QUIT PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT WAS ABLE TO RAISE A FORCE OF 100,000 MEN. A KHALQ MEMBER INTERPRETED IT AS RUSSIA'S INTENTION TO STAY FOR EVER SINCE, ACCORDING TO HIM, THERE WAS NO LIKELIHOOD OF THE ARMY BULKING SUCH A STRENGTH SO LONG AS THE SOVIETS WERE THERE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, PDPA IS BEING PUT THROUGH ITS BIGGEST PURGE AT THE HANDS OF MOSCOW. A PREPONDERANT FOLLOWING OF KHALQ HAS TURNED AGAINST RUSSIA AND EVEN THE OTHER COMMUNIST FACTION, PARCHAM, HAS MEN AT THE LOWER LEVEL QUESTIONING THE WISDOM OF CLOSE REALIGNMENT WITH RUSSIA. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS SAID TO BE TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF SETTING UP A NEW PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN, DRAWING MEMBERS FROM THE TRIED HARD CORE IN BOTH THE KHALQ AND THE PARCHAM. THEREFORE, ALL INDICATIONS, WHETHER ON THE GROUND OR OTHERWISE, ARE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NO INTENTION TO LEAVE AT LEAST NOT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. POLITICAL PRESSURE COULD HAVE EMBARRASSED THEM BUT THERE HAS BEEN VERY LITTLE IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS. THERE IS A PAKISTAN PROPOSAL, DISCUSSED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE UN FOR A CONFERENCE WHICH THE SOVIET UNION, THE US, THE UK, CHINA, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN AND YUGOSLAVIA WOULD ATTEND. BUT MOSCOW HAS NOT YET ACCEPTED IT. THE WEST AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENT STATUS LIKE THAT OF AUSTRIA FOR AFGHANISTAN, BUT THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE ANY SUCH POSSIBILITY. NEW DELHI, ONCE ACTIVE, HAS LATELY CONFINED ITSELF MERELY TO ISSUING OCCASIONAL PIOUS STATEMENTS THAT IT WOULD LIKE FOREIGN FORCES TO QUIT AFGHANISTAN.

THE REAL PRESSURE ON AFGHANISTAN IS FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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REBELS WHO ARE FAR FROM SUBDUED. THEY HAVE INFLICTED HEAVY CASUALTIES ON THE SOVIETS; ABOUT 6,000 ARE DEAD AND NEARLY 20,000 INJURED. IN TERMS OF MONEY, MOSCOW MUST BE SPENDING FIVE TO SIX MILLION DOLLARS A DAY. THIS IS ONLY A FRACTION OF WHAT AMERICA SUFFERED IN VIETNAM. EVEN OTHERWISE IT WAS THE MEDIA THAT HAD FORCED WASHINGTON TO QUIT; THE PEOPLE WERE SEEING ON TV IN THEIR SITTING ROOMS THE ATROCITIES THE MARINES WERE COMMITTING. THAT BUILT UP THE PRESSURE; A CLOSED SOCIETY LIKE RUSSIA'S HAS NOTHING TO FEAR ON THAT COUNT.

THEREFORE MOSCOW APPEARS TO BE CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THE ONLY FRONT IT HAS TO FIGHT ON IS THE AFGHAN
PEOPLE. IT HAS BEGUN TO ACT ACCORDINGLY. NOW THERE IS NO FUSS OVER NATIONALISATION, BOTH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE HAVE BEEN LEFT IN PRIVATE HANDS. EDUCATION REFORMS HAVE BEEN ABANDONED. THERE IS NO MOVE TO IMPART LITERACY TO WOMEN OR ADULTS. A PROGRAM WHICH SPARKED OFF REBELLION AGAINST TARAQI REGIME. IN ANY CASE, MOST SCHOOLS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE HAVE BEEN DESTROYED. NO NEW TEXTBOOK HAS BEEN PRESCRIBED SINCE AMIN'S DAYS; NOR HAS ANY TEACHER BEEN REMOVED. SOVIET LITERATURE HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM THE MARKET. YOU SEE ONLY BOOKS ON ISLAM IN PERSIAN OR PUSHTU. ENGLISH BOOKS ARE NOT ON DISPLAY.

RADIO AND TV PROGRAMS NOW START WITH RECITATIONS FROM THE HOLY QURAN. I SAW EVERY EVENING ON KABUL TV A MULLAH WITH A FLOWING BEARD READING FROM THE QURAN. ALL CONFERENCES BEGIN WITH THE INVOKING OF THE NAME OF ALLAH. THE KABUL NEW TIMES WHICH IS THE ONLY ENGLISH PAPER IN AFGHANISTAN, REPORTED ON SEPTEMBER 23 THAT THE MEETING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA) BEGAN AFTER "THE RECITATION OF A FEW VERSES FROM THE HOLY QURAN."

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BABRAK NOW MAKES APPEALS IN THE NAME OF "MUSLIM FARMERS" AND "MUSLIM WORKERS." AT KABUL AIRPORT ITSELF, THE NOTICES DISPLAYED HAVE "BISMILLAH-UL-REHMAN-UL-RAHIM" (IN THE NAME OF ALLAH WHO IS MERCIFUL AND MUNIFICENT), WRITTEN ON TOP. SOME MULLAHS HAVE BEEN SHOWN ROUND THE SOVIET UNION.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE FAR FROM HAPPY. THE PEOPLE HAVE PRACTICALLY NO WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE BECAUSE VERY FEW FARMS HAVE BEEN SOWN. MOSCOW HAS STEPPED IN TO

MEET SOME OF THE BASIC NECESSITIES. IT GAVE KABUL RECENTLY 200,000 TONNES OF FOODGRAINS AND IT IS FLOODING THE PARTS OF AFGHANISTAN IT CAN REACH WITH GOODS LIKE POWDERED MILK, SHOES, AND CLOTHES AND THROW-AWAY PRICES.

SUCH FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AS THOSE OF ARTISTS, JOURNALISTS AND THE YOUTH ARE BEING FORMED TO HAVE A CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE VOCAL SECTION OF SOCIETY. THE KABUL NEW TIMES ISSUES OF SEPTEMBER 28 AND 29 WERE FULL OF THE "DUTIES" OF JOURNALISTS. TWO DAYS EARLIER, THERE WAS AN INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE IN KABUL AND DELEGATES FROM MANY COMMUNIST COUNTRIES ATTENDED IT. BABRAK TRIED HIS BEST TO GET THE CONGRESS (I) YOUTH WING TO SEND ITS REPRESENTATIVES BUT DID NOT SUCCEED.

BUT THESE THINGS ARE HAVING VERY LITTLE EFFECT. THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO HAVE STARTED ON THE WRONG FOOT. THE PEOPLE REGARD ALL WHAT IS BEING DONE TO WIN THEM OVER AS GIMMICKS. THE AFGHAN COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO BE AS 'SAG-E-SHOURVI'. (SUVIET DOGS). ESTRANGEMENT IS SO COMPLETE THAT THE RUSSIAN TROOPS GET EVERYTHING FROM THEIR OWN COUNTRY, EVEN FIREWOOD.
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THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL LEAVE. TRUE. THE REBELS ARE NEITHER SUBDUED NOR CONTAINED. BUT IS IS AN UNEVEN FIGHT. THEY ARE GETTING ARMS THROUGH PAKISTAN WHICH, WITHOUT AN IOTA OF DOUBT, IS INVOLVED IN GUN-RUNNING AND WHICH IS ALSO ALLOWING ARMS FROM EGYPT, CHINA AND AMERICA AND MONEY FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO FLOW INTO THE REBEL AREAS. BUT FOR HOW LONG? PAKISTAN IS ALREADY UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND IS SAID TO BE LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT AFGHANISTANI'S INDEPENDENCE THAN BEFORE. IF ISLAMABAD COULD COME SO CLOSE TO MOSCOW IN 1965 AS TO ACCEPT ARMS IT COULD HAPPEN AGAIN. THE RUSSIAN FORCES ARE ALSO PRONDING THE BORDER AREAS HEAVILY SO AS TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE REBELS TO GET OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE OR VOLUNTEERS FROM AFGHAN REFUGEE CAMPS ACROSS THE BORDER.

THE JAUI AND MENGAL TRIBES, LIVING IN PAKTIYA, A PROVINCE ADJOINING AFGHANISTAN, ARE SAID TO HAVE BEEN ALREADY MOLLIFIED BY KABUL. LT. COL. FAIZ MOHAMMAD, MINISTER FOR TRIBAL AND BORDER AFFAIRS, WHO WAS KILLED IN THIS AREA A FORTNIGHT AGO, HAD REPORTEDLY CARRIED WITH HIM 30 MILLION AFGHANS (60 LAKH RUPEES) FOR DISTRIBUTION. THERE MAY BE SOMETHING IN IT BECAUSE PAKTIYA, ONCE A SCENE OF FIENCE RESISTANCE, IS QUIET NOW.

NO DOUBT, THE REBELS GET ARMS FROM SYMPATHETIC AFGHAN

SOLDIERS OR BUY THEM FROM THE RUSSIANS FOR HASHISH AND RUGS. BUT THESE SOURCES HAVE A LIMIT. IF BY CONTINUING RESISTANCE FOR ANOTHER YEAR OR TWO, THE REBELS COULD WIN FREEDOM, THEY HAVE THE WEAPONS TO DO SO. IT IS NOT THAT THEY WILL LAY DOWN ARMS AFTER THAT; THE QUESTION IS HOW LONG THEY WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE THEM.

FIFTH ARTICLE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 10 HEADLINED: "KANDAHAR -- WHERE REBELS ARE THE LAW":
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THERE ARE DAILY TWO FLIGHTS FROM HERE TO KANDAHAR AND ON CERTAIN DAYS THREE. STILL MANY PASSENGERS GO SITTING ON THE AISLE OF THE PLANE. THE CLOSURE OF LAND ROUTE HAS DIVERTED TRAFFIC TO THE AIR.

KANDAHAR HAS REMAINED DISTURBED FOR A LONG TIME. AN UNEASY NORMALCY HAS RETURNED IN THE LAST FORTNIGHT. MARTIAL LAW IS STILL IN FORCE BUT TANKS COME OUT ONLY AT NIGHT. SOME ARMED AFGHANS, DRESSED IN SALWAR AND QAMEEZ, ARE SEEN IN BAZARS. THIS FORCE, CALLED SARBAZ, IS SAID TO BE PART OF PARCHAMIS, THE SUPPORTERS OF THE RULING COMMUNIST FACTION.

BUT THIS HAS NOT DETERRED THE REBELS FROM MAKING THEIR PRESENCE FELT. CURFEW BEGINS OFFICIALLY AT 10 P.M. BUT THE REBELS' ORDER IS FROM 9 P.M. THE PEOPLE OBEY THAT. GIRLS DO NOT ATTEND SCHOOLS BECAUSE THE HEZBE ISLAMI, A REBEL GROUP, HAS ISSUED INSTRUCTIONS THAT NO GIRL WILL ATTEND SCHOOL. A WOMAN TEACHER WAS KILLED THE OTHER DAY BECAUSE SHE WENT TO TEACH DESPITE THE REBELS' ORDER TO STAY HOME. IN FACT, NO WOMAN IS SEEN ON THE STREETS.

REBELS FIX PRICES. A BUTCHER WAS KILLED SOME TIME AGO BECAUSE HE SOLD MEAT AT MORE THAN THE FIXED PRICE. 70 AFGHANS (RS. 14) A KILO. NO PETROL IS AVAILABLE WITHOUT THE GOVERNOR'S SPECIAL PERMIT. SCHOOLS ARE OPEN, BUT ATTENDANCE IS THIN. GIFTS ARE DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS-ROOMS TO ATTRACT STUDENTS. THE FRIDAY CONGREGATION AT LOCAL MOSQUES IS BIG; TEMPLES OF HINDU AFGHANS ARE OPEN.

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CAPT. ISMAT ULLAH, A FORMER AFGHAN ARMY OFFICIAL OPERATES IN THE AREA. HE IS SAID TO HAVE A FORCE OF 1000 MEN (FIDAYEENS) WITH HIM. THEY ARE THE ONES WHO

CLAIM THE CREDIT FOR HAVING BLOWN UP A RUSSIAN AMMUNITION DEPOT NEAR THE KANDAHAR AIRPORT RUNAWAY.

THIS HAPPENED ON SEPTEMBER 23. ANY OXYGEN TANKER WAS SET ON FIRE. THE FIRE SPREAD TO A NEARBY PETROL DUMP AND THEN TO AN AMMUNITION DEPOT, WHICH BLEW UP. FOUR MIGS WERE DESTROYED, ANOTHER FOUR DAMAGED; THREE HELICOPTERS WERE DESTROYED AND FIVE MORE DAMAGED. AN AIRCRAFT WORKSHOP WAS ALSO DESTROYED. TWENTY RUSSIANS WERE REPORTEDLY KILLED AND 25 INJURED.

THE PEOPLE IN KANDAHAR CITY, 30 KM. AWAY FROM THE AIRPORT, WATCHED THE FIRE WHICH RAGED FOR 2-1/2 TO 3 HOURS. FIRE ENGINES WENT FROM THE CITY ALSO. SOME REPORTS SAID THAT IT WAS AN ACCIDENT; BUT MANY SUSPECTED IT TO BE THE WORK OF KHALQIS, AN ESTRANGED FACTION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN AFGHANISTAN. IF IT WAS A SABOTAGE, IT WAS ~~PROBABLY~~ DARING BECAUSE KANDAHAR AIRPORT IS HEAVILY GUARDED BY THE RUSSIANS.

HOWEVER, MOST PEOPLE BELIEVED IT WAS "ALLAH'S DOING". AND THEY CONNECTED IT WITH AN INCIDENT AT KARAZ, NEAR KANDAHAR, ON SEPTEMBER 11. SOME RUSSIAN AND AFGHAN SOLDIERS HAD GONE THERE IN SEARCH OF REBELS ACTIVE IN THAT AREA. TWO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS TRIED TO MOLEST AFGHAN GIRLS. IRKED BY THIS INCIDENT, AFGHAN SOLDIERS SHOT THE TWO RUSSIANS DEAD THERE ITSELF. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A REGULAR CLASH BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN AND AFGHAN SOLDIERS. FIFTEEN RUSSIANS AND 50 AFGHANS WERE TOLLED.

RUSSIANS HAVE FAILED TO OPEN UP THE AREA. THERE HAS BEEN HEAVY BOMBING ON KHAREZ, SHIVDTAIKOT.
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ARGISTAN. MIZAN MAIWAND ARGANDAB, PANJVYI, SIGA AND TIRINIO. THIS HAS RELIEVED PRESSURE ON KANDAHAR CITY BUT HAS NOT DISLODGED THE REBELS, THE PRACTICE OF THE RUSSIANS IS TO SEND TANKS AND SOLDIERS INTO BOMBED AREAS. THEY HAVE DONE SO HERE ALSO. BUT AFTER THEIR RETURN, THE REBELS HAVE CREPT BACK TO THESE VILLAGES.

THE BOMBARDMENT, HAD PUT POWER HOUSE AT KAJOI, NOT FAR FROM KANDAHAR, OUT OF ACTION. THE SUPPLY OF WATER AND ELECTRICITY WAS AFFECTED FOR MANY DAYS. HOWEVER, IT MADE NO DIFFERENCE TO SHARLA-NAO, THE CIVIL LINES, WHICH WAS SUPPLIED POWER FROM THE GOVERNMENT GENERATORS.

EVEN THOUGH THE PEOPLE SAY THAT THEY ARE NOT AFRAID OF ANYTHING, UNCERTAIN CONDITIONS HAVE TOLD UPON THEM. THEY DO NOT LOOK AT THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE. THERE ARE PLENTY OF GRAPES IN THE MARKET BUT

BUSINESS IS LIMITED. SMUGGLING IS THE MAIN VOCATION. AND NOT-TOO-FAR BALUCHISTAN HAS BEEN A HANDY MARKET. BUT THIS HAS NOT BEEN OF MUCH HELP TO THE PEOPLE. THE POPULATION OF KANDAHAR CITY, ONCE 2-1/2 LAKHS, IS DOWN TO LESS THAN HALF. BUT THIS IS ALSO THE CITY WHERE THE RUSSIANS MORALE IS AT THE LOWEST EBB: THEIR SOLDIERS ARE SELLING BULLETS, UNIFORMS AND EVEN PETROL FOR CIGARETTES AND TRANSISTOR RADIOS.

SIXTY ARTICLE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS OCTOBER 13 HEADLINED: "AFGHAN REBEL GROUPS BASED IN PESHAWAR"

THE AFGHAN REBEL GROUPS HAVE THEIR MAIN OFFICES IN PESHAWAR. ALL KNOW ABOUT IT.

THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION THAT CHINA, AMERICA AND UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED.

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EUROPE GIVE THEM AND THE MONEY THE ARABS PROVIDE ARE NORMALLY CHANNELLED THROUGH THESE OFFICES. THE QUANTITY MAY BE A MATTER OF DISPUTE BUT THE FACT OF SUPPLY IS NOT.

THERE ARE SIX MAIN REBEL GROUPS. THEY ARE: HEZBE ISLAMI; NATIONAL FRONT; JAMATE ISLAMI AFGHANISTAN; HAKKATE ISLAMI AFGHANISTAN; HEZBE ISLAMI AFGHANISTAN; AND NATIONAL FRONT FOR ISLAMIC REVOLUTION.

EGYPT HAS BEGUN SENDING THEM ARMS RECENTLY. PRESIDENT SADAT HAS SAID OPENLY THAT HE WOULD PASS ON TO THE REBELS ALL THE EQUIPMENT THAT HIS COUNTRY HAS RECEIVED FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

SOME OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT AND ANTI-TANK GUNS THAT THE REBELS HAVE ALREADY GOT ARE RUSSIAN MADE. THEY ARE SAID TO HAVE COME FROM CAIRO. THIS SQUARES WITH THE REBELS' CLAIM OF DOWNING TWO HELICOPTER GUN-SHIPS AND DESTROYING FOUR TANKS IN THE BATTLE OF PANJSHER IN THE SECOND WEEK OF SEPTEMBER.

THE TRAINING CAMPS FOR THE REBELS IN PAKISTAN MAY NOT BE ANYWHERE NEAR 70 AS THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALLEGED. BUT CAMPS ARE THERE ALL RIGHT. SEVERAL POLITICAL LEADERS AND JOURNALISTS IN PAKISTAN OPENLY TALK ABOUT THE TRAINING.

THE COMPLAINT IN PAKISTAN IS AGAINST THE INFUX OF AFGHAN REFUGEES. MR. TIKKA KHAN, ONCE A MILITARY COMMANDER IN EAST PAKISTAN AND NOW ADDITIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY OF PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PAKISTAN, TOLD ME THAT HIS PARTY WOULD LIKE THE REFUGEES TO GO BACK. ASKED HOW, HE SAID IT WAS THEIR BUSINESS; THEY SHOULD NOT COME TO PAKISTAN.

EVEN THOSE WHO HAVE SYMPATHY FOR AFGHANISTAN ARE NONE
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TOO HAPPY OVER THEIR NUMBER WHICH THE GOVERNMENT PUTS
AT ONE MILLION. RENTS HAVE INCREASED; PRICES HAVE
GONE UP; THE AFGHANS HAVE BEGUN LENDING MONEY. AND
THOUSANDS OF THEM APPEAR TO HAVE NO INTENTION TO BACK
HOME. THESE THINGS HAVE BEGUN TO ALIENATE THE PEOPLE.

THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH AT ONE TIME RODE THE
HIGH ROSE OF ISLAM AND RAVED ABOUT "MUSLIM BRETHREN
FROM ACROSS THE BORDER", IS NOW WORRIED. NEARLY A
YEAR HAS GONE BY AND STILL THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM IS
WHERE IT WAS.

I WAS TOLD MORE THAN ONCE BY THE FOREIGN OFFICE THAT
PAKISTAN WAS NOT OPPOSED TO AFGHANISTAN BEING UNDER THE
SOVIET INFLUENCE. "NOR DO WE INSIST ON AN IMMEDIATE
WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS. LET THERE BE A PACKAGE
DEAL."

.....
APPARENTLY, WHATEVER POLITICAL MILEAGE GEN. ZIA
WANTED TO GET FROM AFGHANISTAN, HE HAS MORE OR LESS GOT
IT. THE EXECUTION OF BHUTTO, FOLLOWED BY THE POSTPONEMENT
OF ELECTIONS, HAD MADE THINGS TOUGH FOR HIM. THE
TWO ISLAMIC CONFERENCES, THE FIRST IN JANUARY, AND
THE SECOND IN MAY, TO DISCUSS AFGHANISTAN--WITH THE
SPOTLIGHT ON ISLAMABAD AND GEN. ZIA--GAVE HIM THE BOOST
HE SO BADLY NEEDED.

BEFORE THE SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN THE
WESTERN AND EVEN MUSLIM COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE NONE OF
HIM. HE WAS NOT EVEN GETTING A CONCESSION LIKE THE
RESCHEDULING OF FOREIGN LOANS. THERE WAS ANGER AGAINST
HIM FOR NOT LISTENING TO THE PLEA OF CLEMENCY FOR
BHUTTO.

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NOW THE PICTURE HAS CHANGED. THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES
SELECTED HIM TO ADDRESS THE UN ON THEIR BEHALF AND
NOMINATED HIM TO MEDIATE BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN.
PRESIDENT CARTER, MRS. THATCHER, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT
AND PRESIDENT VALLERY GISCARD D'ESTAING HAVE MET HIM.
REPORTS ARE THAT THEY HAVE OFFERED HIM FINANCIAL AND
MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

SO GEN. ZIA MAY NOT HAVE MUCH USE FOR AFGHANISTAN
OF ITS REFUGEES. WHEN A PAKISTAN DELEGATION VISITED
MOSCOW LAST MONTH, IT DID NOT SHOW THE SAME CONCERN

OF AFGHANISTAN WHICH ISLAMABAD HAD SHOWN BEFORE.

THINGS MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT IF THERE HAD BEEN
SOME COORDINATION AMONG THE REBEL GROUPS. MR. GULBUDDIN
HIKMATYAR OF HEZBE ISLAMI IS SAID TO BE INSISTING ON THE
OTHER GROUPS ACCEPTING HIM AS THE SOLE LEADER. BUT
SOME REBEL LEADERS ARE NOT WILLING TO DO SO. THIS
CONTINUES TO KEEP THE GROUPS APART. THEYARE STILL
KILLING EACH OTHER'S MEN. PISTOR UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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